

## Message Text

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ORIGIN IO-14

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 202719

FOR AMB. VANDEN HEUVEL FROM ASST SECY MAYNES

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, PLAB, ILO

SUBJECT: ILO

1. I WOULD LIKE TO REQUEST YOUR PERSONAL VIEWS ON A PRO-  
CEDURE WE MIGHT CONSIDER FOR ESTABLISHING BEFORE NOVEMBER  
THAT SUFFICIENT PROGRESS IN THE ILO HAS BEEN MADE TO JUSTIFY  
A CABINET LEVEL DECISION TO CONSIDER OTHER OPTIONS BESIDES  
WITHDRAWAL FROM THE ILO. -

2. AS I SEE IT, THE DILEMMA WE FACE IN THE COMING WEEKS IS  
THIS. ON THE ONE HAND, U.S. LEVERAGE IN THE ILO HAS NEVER  
BEEN HIGHER AS THE DEADLINE FOR OUR LETTER OF WITHDRAWAL  
APPROACHES AND AS NUMEROUS COUNTRIES ATTEMPT TO CREATE THE  
CONDITIONS WHICH WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO REMAIN. ON  
THE OTHER HAND, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE LATE OCTOBER  
MEETING OF THE WORKING GROUP ON STRUCTURE, THERE IS NO ILO  
MEETING PRIOR TO THE DEADLINE OF NOVEMBER 5, 1977 WHICH  
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WOULD ENABLE US TO USE OUR LEVERAGE TO REGISTER CONCRETE PRO-  
GRESS ON SOME OR ALL OF THE ISSUES WE HAVE IDENTIFIED AS KEY.

3. THERE IS ONE POSSIBLE ANSWER TO THIS DILEMMA. THIS WOULD  
BE FOR BLANCHARD HIMSELF TO TAKE THE INITIATIVE IN AN AREA  
WHERE HE MAY BE IN A POSITION TO ACT INDEPENDENTLY, NAMELY  
ON ARTICLE 17. THUS, THE DG COULD ON HIS OWN INITIATIVE SEND

A LETTER TO ALL MEMBER STATES CLARIFYING THE CRITERIA THAT HE WOULD HENCEFORTH USE IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ARTICLE 17, THE REFORM OF WHICH WAS ONE OF OUR MAIN OBJECTIVES IN THE JUNE 1977 MEETING. AS YOU KNOW, SECTION 2, ARTICLE 17 STATES:

COPIES OF ALL RESOLUTIONS SHALL BE AVAILABLE TO DELEGATES AT THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR OFFICE NOT MORE THAN 48 HOURS AFTER THE EXPIRY OF THE TIME LIMIT LAID DOWN IN THE PRECEDING PARAGRAPH: PROVIDED THAT THE DIRECTOR GENERAL MAY DECIDE TO WITHHOLD CIRCULATION OF THE TEXT OF A PARTICULAR RESOLUTION PENDING CONSULTATION WITH THE OFFICERS OF THE GOVERNING BODY.

WE HAVE ATTEMPTED THROUGH A FORMAL AMENDMENT TO CLARIFY THE CRITERIA THE DIRECTOR GENERAL SHOULD USE IN IMPLEMENTING SECTION 2, ARTICLE 17. BUT WE COULD SERVE THE SAME END THROUGH AN AUTHORITATIVE LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR GENERAL TO MEMBER STATES.

4. IF HE WERE TO WRITE SUCH A LETTER, THE DIRECTOR GENERAL WOULD HAVE TWO BASIC OPTIONS. ONE WOULD BE FOR HIM TO CONVEY HIS INTERPRETATION OF SECTION 2, ARTICLE 17 ON THE BASIS OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE KEY REGIONAL GROUPS. THIS WOULD BE THE POLITICALLY SAFER COURSE  
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OF ACTION. HIS OTHER OPTION WOULD BE TO ACT UNILATERALLY PERHAPS AFTER CONSULTATION BUT WITHOUT CONSENSUS. IN THIS CASE, HE WOULD PRESUMABLY BE TELLING MEMBER STATES, IN EFFECT, THAT IN ORDER TO SAVE THE INSTITUTION, HE WAS TAKING A PERSONALLY COURAGEOUS COURSE OF ACTION.

5. A LETTER MIGHT ALSO BE USED TO ADDRESS OTHER ISSUES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE KEY ISSUE FOR OUR DELEGATION WAS THE CONFERENCE FAILURE TO ADOPT THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS. AN ASPECT OF THAT FAILURE WHICH REMAINS UNCLEAR IS THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE MAJORITY REFUSED TO ADOPT THE REPORT BECAUSE THEY ACCEPTED THE LEGAL POSITION TAKEN BY THE SOVIETS AND ARABS THAT TO VOTE FOR A REPORT INCLUDING A SECTION ON THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WAS TO ACCEPT ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO REMAIN IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. A LETTER FROM THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, BASED ON CONSULTATIONS WITH MEMBER STATES, MIGHT CLARIFY THIS LEGAL POINT AND CONFIRM THE EXTENT TO WHICH, THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ISSUE APART, MEMBER STATES ARE PREPARED TO VOTE FOR THE KIND OF REPORT WHICH THE COMMITTEE ON THE APPLICATION OF CONVENTIONS TURNED OUT LAST JUNE. PROVIDED CONSUL-

TATIONS JUSTIFIED THIS, A LETTER MIGHT ALSO DOCUMENT  
THAT PROGRESS WAS IN SIGHT ON THE STRUCTURAL ISSUE.

6. I HAVE NOT DISCUSSED THIS PROPOSAL WITH OTHER  
MEMBERS OF THE CABINET COMMITTEE. CONSEQUENTLY, YOU  
SHOULD NOT DISCUSS IT WITH OTHERS IN GENEVA. BUT  
GIVEN THE MANY CONVERSATIONS YOU HAVE HAD WITH  
BLANCHARD ALREADY, YOU MAY BE ABLE TO JUDGE WHETHER  
HE IS WILLING TO TAKE THE KINDS OF PERSONAL RISKS  
WHICH THE FOREGOING APPROACH WOULD ENTAIL. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
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